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Reforming the Performance of Masculinity: Stephen Crane's Critiques of Riis's and Roosevelt's Civic Militarism

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REFORMING THE PERFORMANCE OF MASCULINITY: STEPHEN CRANE'S CRITIQUES OF RIIS'S AND ROOSEVELT'S CIVIC MILITARISM

by

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CHAPTER 1

The Progressive Era (1890-1920) marks a unique period of social change in American history not only because of reformists' muckraking attacks against political machines and other corrupt social practices, but also because gender permeated every aspect of reform. The doctrine of separate spheres, which had been such a mainstay of Industrial Revolution-era America, was blurring rapidly, as many reformists, like suffragists, pressed for greater gender equality. However, an extremely fascinating characteristic of this period that is often overlooked is the inevitable way in which the performance of gender became essential for reformists to be successful.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

For those wanting to elicit social change, reform efforts proved to be a problematic grey area between suitable male and female roles. The desire to reform seemed very feminine because

it demonstrated empathy and a desire to nurture and heal. However, the legal and political means of enacting reform seemed very masculine. Consequentially, female reformers were criticized for being masculine, and male reformers were criticized for being feminine. Figure 1 depicted above (1896) contrasts a masculine Susan B. Anthony to a feminine "mollycoddle" or "dude," a term applied to male political reformers as well as other upper-class men who were seen as effeminate. The caption also helps construct the gender reversal: "Inexplicable. Miss Anthony Susan—To think that thing can vote and I can't" (qtd. in Murphy 35). The masculine Miss Anthony Susan, with her name inverted to be a man's name, stands tall above the effeminate "dude." Through the caption, the cartoonist argues that the female reformer is so masculine that she can actually pass as a man to vote while a real man cannot. Figure 2 (1906) by E. W. Gustin portrays what would happen if female suffragists succeeded in their reform: women would fully become men, and men would fully become women, thus turning the world order on its head. Both cartoons illustrate the public's qualms about reformists because their reform blurred the already hazy lines between the separate spheres. Additionally, the cartoon artists chose to question the reformists' gender identities rather than critique the particulars of their reform ideologies, illustrating how a reformer's agenda could jeopardize their gender identification—a woman pressing for women's suffrage must imply a homosexual tendency, as would a man pressing for, say, housing reform. Feeling immense pressure from the public and those in powerful political offices, female and male reformers polarized their reform strategies to both confirm their own identities as women and men, as well as to give their reform agendas a better chance at succeeding.

New York Times articles depict how female reformers faced accusations of being too masculine or "unnatural." In an article from 1878, the author claims that female reformers'

bodies differ from other women: "[T]he peculiar species of woman popularly known as the female reformer is unusually thin and bony. . . . [it] is enough simply to remind the public that the more earnestly a woman may advocate female suffrage and trousers the more closely may we expect to find her approaching the general weight and appearance of a human skeleton" ("Not An Exception"). The article argues that female reformers do not have the normal curvaceous body of a woman, suggesting their physiology actually differs from the body of a true woman. In a 1901 article entitled "Evolution of Women Crusaders," the author states that "the female crusader" is "a creature of wild impulses and cyclonic volitions, unrestrainable and non-dirigible." Using the rhetoric of evolution, the article explains how woman crusaders at first "shed a few tears at the thought of their own helplessness and proceeded to hold prayer meetings," but now participate in "the burning of an obnoxious saloon and its adjacent storehouse" because they are "developing new and unsuspected traits which may be studied with advantage." Though it seems the author of this article intends to be genuinely impressed with female reformers' gumption, he stills describes them as savage. Rather than evolving, like the title implies, his actual characterization of the reformers in the article suggests regression from civility. They have not progressed from being primitive to domestic to politically articulate and active, but rather have reverted back to the hyper-masculine violence of crusading men in ancient history by torching buildings.

Scholars have extensively examined the rhetorical strategies female reformers used to "feminize" and "domesticate" reform. Professor Linda Rybrandt examines one female reformer's use of domesticity to facilitate reform—Caroline Bartlett Crane. Crane pushed for municipal reform in Michigan by claiming that municipal housekeeping was simply housecleaning on a larger scale (205). Though she believed suffrage would help women become better municipal

house-keepers, she largely approached reform by organizing women's civic groups rather than fighting for the vote. Rybrandt claims Crane found herself concerned for the "larger social home" (208). Similarly, Victoria Bissell Brown, a Jane Addams scholar, credits Addams's reform success in Chicago to her emphasis on domesticity by showing "the interdependence of the public and private in modern life," which pleased the public because she upheld rather than attacked traditional gender roles. The literal creation of a home for reform purposes, like Addams's Hull House and other settlement houses, illustrates just how well female reformers understood the importance of "feminizing" their approach to social change. The settlement houses became a symbol of how women could protect the poor and aid the weary without even leaving "home."

Although ample research details the performance of femininity by female reformers during the Progressive Era, almost no research discusses the necessary performance of masculinity by male reformers. Men at the beginning of the Progressive Era experienced what scholars call a "crisis of masculinity" in which they felt a need to clearly define "manhood" because of women's expanding roles, as embodied by "the New Woman" who was educated, independent, and politically-aware. In response to this female ideal, men turned to hyper-masculine behaviors, like aggressive sports, for self-fulfillment. Male reformers especially struggled to embody this new definition of manhood because their philanthropy inherently contradicted the rugged and competitive model entailed in "the new man."

Like female reformers, male reformers received brutal accusations in the press of being homosexual or sexless. In his book *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform,* historian Kevin P. Murphy discusses two particular political groups in New York City who faced such slanders because of their failure to adhere to the era's

new definition of masculinity. The first group, the Mugwumps, challenged the power of Tammany Hall by acting as an informal third party to negotiate rather than fight for reform. However, party politicians revered the doctrine of the two-party system like they revered the doctrine of separate spheres, and Mugwumps' attempt to create an uncategorized party naturally resulted in accusations of being sexually uncategorizable (15). Similar to members of the Populist and Prohibitions parties who won the name "she-men" for their third-party ideology, the Mugwumps found themselves being called "political hermaphrodites," as well "Miss Nancies," "Charlotte Annes," "man-milliners," and "long-haired men" (31). To make matters worse, the Mugwumps' reason for non-allegiance to a party was to promote political purity, which depicted them as virtuous, naïve young girls. The Goo Goos, or Good Government reformers, superseded the Mugwumps and even though they helped draft and pass revolutionary tenement house legislation, they received the same accusations thrown at the Mugwumps because of their commitment to political purity (40-41).

In response to these accusations, many male reformers used a unique strategy, one that stemmed from both the rise of Social Darwinism and scientific efficiency, to legitimize their reform and their own gender identity—militarism. Murphy specifies reformers' use of militarism during the Progressive Era as "civic militarism," which entailed not only "battling" Tammany Hall but also poverty and other social injustices (70). Murphy describes the two ways in which civic militarism aided male reformers. First, militaristic rhetoric and ideals helped reformers lure working-class immigrant men away from camaraderie in the political machine and push them instead towards the camaraderie found through Americanization. Second, civic militarism helped "male urban reformers to cast their projects as both legitimate and appropriately masculine and to create for themselves a new subjectivity as reform warriors. In doing so they defied the effete

and over-civilized stereotype by investing urban reform with a sense of manly vigor, honor, and adventure" (72). Civic militarism did not become reformers' strategy simple because the physicality of war seemed masculine. During the Progressive Era, the Civil War became iconic of a time in which men were men of valor. Most men felt the need to find a means to revive the virtues that war provided amid the peace and leisure of middle-class living, and reform now could be cast as a way to redeem these lost virtues (Rotundo 233).

Murphy briefly mentions two reformers in New York City who successfully utilized civic militarism to masculinize reform and display their own masculinity—writer and amateur photographer Jacob Riis and police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt. Both of these men used the rhetoric and practices of civic militarism to legitimize reform as a masculine endeavor, even though they dealt with "feminine" reform issues—housing and prostitution (though Roosevelt dealt with other social issues as well). However, Murphy's chapter on Riis and Roosevelt provides only a glimpse into Riis and Roosevelt's use of civic militarism to perform masculinity as it only discusses their Mulberry Bend reform, an area in the notorious Five Points neighborhood (Jeffers 32). In addition to Murphy's limited discussion on Riis and Roosevelt's civic militarism, scholars have not examined any Progressive Era critiques of their militaristic strategies, though surely they faced some opposition for this particular method of reform.

However, novelist Stephen Crane personally knew both Riis and Roosevelt and, through his writing and also his involvement in a trial against the police department, he attacked their militaristic style of reform. As a Naturalist, Crane dedicated his life to analyzing individuals to understand larger social dynamics. He conducted research for his writing by walking the streets of the slums and interacting with individuals. Through his writing he critiqued militaristic reform because he could see how it belittled the working classes. Crane responds to Riis's reform in his

1893 novella *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets,* which depicts civic militarism, as used by Riis and others, as akin to a theatrical performance that dehumanizes the immigrants living in the tenement districts. Three years after publishing *Maggie*, Crane again criticizes militaristic reform by defending prostitute Dora Clark (Maggie in the flesh, in his mind), testifying that her arresting officer and the entire police department is corrupt, despite Roosevelt's implementation of civic militarism to reform the department. Crane ultimately fails to defend Clark because the police department depicts his home life as being immoral, unorganized, and complacent, all of which contradict the tenets of militarism and masculinity. They battle Crane not by arguing that his position is wrong but rather by attacking his character and discrediting his statements. Crane's critiques of both Riis's and Roosevelt's masculinization of reform and their creation of masculine identities illustrates the complexity of acquiring both public support for reform agendas while also maintaining respect and understanding for those who are being reformed. Not only have Crane's interactions with Riis and Roosevelt received very little notice by scholars, but his significant critiques of their militaristic performances of masculinity, which provide unique insight into the social environment of Progressive Era reform, have gone wholly unnoticed.

Crane's critique of Roosevelt and of Riis, who idolized and patterned himself after Roosevelt, represents a critique of Progressive Era militaristic masculinity collectively because the public viewed Roosevelt as the personification of true manhood. In 1899 Roosevelt gave a speech entitled "The Strenuous Life" detailing his personal hardships and the necessity of overcoming difficulties to build manly character and thereby improve the character of the nation. Though Roosevelt gave the speech three years after his interaction with Crane, Roosevelt would have held those same beliefs as seen in the speech during their friendship. The speech functioned

as the bible of manhood during the Progressive Era as, according to Murphy, even men in opposition with Roosevelt felt the need to "situate himself vis-à-vis Roosevelt's influential doctrine" (187). Professor E. Anthony Rotundo explains the basic formula of the "Strenuous Life" speech: "attack the man of gentle scruples as a symbol and cause of national decline, and then embody the country's greatest virtues in the man of bold assertiveness" (Rotundo 268). Roosevelt's rhetoric in "The Strenuous Life" depicts life as war in which battered soldiers must press on to demonstrate their pride for self and country. Rotundo explains, "[Roosevelt] treated the martial ideas for the individual man and for the nation as barely distinguishable from one another" (235). Roosevelt tied manhood to this militaristic duty to oneself and to one's country: "Let us boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully. . . . that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness" (qtd. in Rotundo 235). The militarism found in Roosevelt's ideology, the ideology Riis shared and desperately sought to embody, included three key components: moral discipline to redirect primal passions for the betterment of society, order and efficiency, and imperialism.

Progressive Era masculinity viewed man's natural instincts, or primal passions as Roosevelt called them, as morally-advantageous tools to be used to better self and society. The introduction of Social Darwinism during the Progressive Era scientifically linked men to animals and thus classified their animalistic instincts as natural rather than hedonistic or uncivilized. Aggression and endurance, among other primitive instincts, now became prized survival strategies in the competitive urban jungle and strategies that could initiate social change. Roosevelt believed these primal passions to be essential for the progress of the nation: "We need…the iron qualities that must go with true manhood. We need the positive virtues of resolution, of courage, of indomitable will, of power to do without shrinking to the rough work

that must always be done, and to persevere through the long days of slow progress or seeming failure which always come before any final triumph" (qtd. in Rotundo 233). The ability to reason without the entanglements of emotion, paired with the resolve to defend one's moral convictions, became trademarks of a real man (225, 234). Although masculinity did not include acting on sexual instincts (231-232), men demonstrated their masculinity by calling upon their endurance and self-discipline to resist sexual temptation. The introduction of dens in the home provide further evidence that Progressive Era society now encouraged men to act upon their primal passions rather than suppress them. In 1902 female journalist Christine Terhune urged her female readers to create dens for their husbands that would act as "a cave to a primitive man" (qtd. in Rotundo 227). Militaristic reformers viewed their moral caliber as superior, and necessarily superior, to those they sought to aid. They needed to utilize their aggression, bravery, and endurance to combat social and moral sins, all while remaining untainted by these sins themselves.

Another token of manhood involved adherence to principles of order and efficiency. Taylorism, a Progressive Era theory that primarily sought to improve productivity in manufacturing plants, stressed the importance of breaking down the production process into simple tasks that could be standardized in order to produce consistent results. Taylorism also involved implementing managerial positions to ensure the proper and timely completion of each task. Militaristic reformers viewed themselves as managers of chaos trying to enact efficient strategies to restore social order. To do so, they often standardized certain practices or procedures to eliminate corruption and to ensure consistent results. For example, Roosevelt created an elaborate system of standardized tests for prospective police officers to pass before

they received their badges. He designed this police production line to eliminate party affiliation from determining who served and who did not.

For Roosevelt and many others, imperialism stood as the central objective of manhood, so much so, that he viewed opponents to imperialism as opponents to manhood (Rotundo 236). Roosevelt believed masculinity inherently entailed competition and pride in one's country. Similarly, reformers not only fought to protect the impoverished but also to help the impoverished become Americanized. Many reformers, including Roosevelt, went undercover to explore how the other half lived, studying the problems of poor neighborhoods first-hand to create the most effective offensive strategy to expand American values to the far reaches of the slums, areas largely populated by European immigrants needing assimilation.

Chapter 2 will discuss how Stephen Crane responded to the civic militarism of Jacob Riis in his novella *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets.* Through characterization and imagery, Crane analyzes how primal passions, order and efficiency, and imperialism compromise the reform agendas of Riis and other advocates of civic militarism. His critique shows a deep concern that proving one's own masculinity through civic militarism in reform dehumanizes those being reformed.

Chapter 3 will discuss Crane's brief friendship with police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt and his defense of prostitute Dora Clark in a trial against the police department. Through his account of Clark's arrest in the *New York Journal*, Crane performs masculinity to establish his credibility as a witness to police corruption. The incident briefly transforms Crane from writer to reformer, but ultimately Crane fails to sufficiently perform masculinity and ruins his friendship with Roosevelt as well as his national reputation. Crane's involvement in the Dora

Clark incident highlights the importance of gender performance for male reformers in the Progressive Era.

CHAPTER 2

Many Progressive Era literary men depicted the need for reform or advocated for particular methods of reform through writing, despite the risk of being perceived as effeminate; one such writer was Stephen Crane. After researching the slums of New York City first-hand, Crane published his novella *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* in 1893. The novella demonstrates the need for reform by telling the tragic story of one impoverished individual—Maggie, a poor Irish immigrant girl who, despite her housing conditions and her abusive, alcoholic mother, exudes beauty and innocence. Unfortunately, Maggie falls for a rake named Pete who strips her of her virginity. With her reputation ruined, Maggie's mother expels her from their home. In desperation Maggie resorts to prostitution and dies at some unknown time on the streets. As a Naturalist, Crane thus emphasized how her fall was the direct result of her environment.

The horrible tenement conditions Crane depicts in *Maggie* echoed many Progressive Era reformers' concerns about the inadequacy of the tenements; in the two decades leading up to the Progressive Era, amendments to tenement legislation not only failed but exacerbated health and safety problems. During the 1870s, the mayor organized the Committee of Nine to implement tenement reform. Through the State Legislature, the Committee enacted a bill that required that every tenement bedroom have a window opening directly to the outdoors unless sufficient light and ventilation could be provided in a manner approved by the Board of Health (Lubove 30-31). Though well intended, this stipulation would begin a vicious cycle of failed tenement reform that would not be remedied until the 1890s when social reformer Jacob Riis would step into the picture.

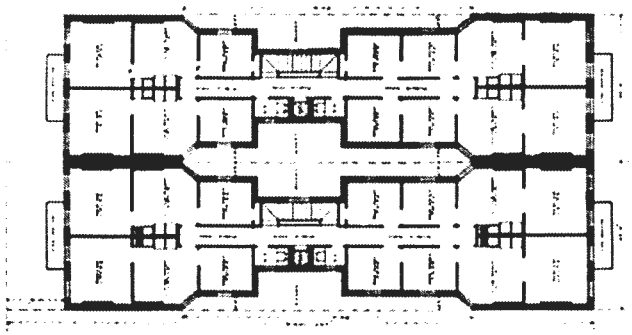

Fig. 3
Diagram of two dumbbell tenements

The new requirement to have a window in every tenement bedroom led to the construction of the infamous dumb-bell tenement. In 1878 the trade journal *Plumber and Sanitary Engineer* offered a monetary reward for the best tenement plan that would adhere to the new bill while also ensuring safety for tenants and profit for landlords. Only five men judged the plans, including a printing press manufacturer and two clergymen, men who were in no way qualified to judge architectural designs. Out of the 200 plans submitted, James E. Ware's dumb-bell design won (Lubove 29-30). The design included an airshaft in between buildings that ran from the ground to the rooftop. The majority of windows in each apartment faced into this airshaft. Not only did the shaft fail to provide adequate light and clean air like it should have, but it presented a major fire hazard, acting as a duct to quickly carry flames from the main level to the roof. Terrible odors filled the airshaft because tenants would toss their garbage out the window and into the shaft. Noise echoed loudly in the airshaft from all the families in each building (31). Dr. A.N. Bell, editor of the Sanitarium, appropriately stated, "the prizes were won by the most ingenious designs for dungeons" (qtd. in Lubove 32).

Fig. 4 Airshaft of a dumbbell tenement

Fig. 5
Riis, Bath-tub in airshaft

For families living in the dumb-bell tenements, daily life proved challenging, largely because of overcrowding. In 1890, at the onset of the Progressive Era, 1,000,000 out of New York City's 1,500,000 lived in a mere 35,000 tenement dwellings (43), an average of almost 29 people to one tenement apartment. Disease and vermin invaded the tenements constantly. Riis recalls seeing five families living in a 12x12 foot apartment with only two beds as furniture (Riis 11). He also remembers seeing a baby dying in a room that was 115 degrees (Riis 47).

Despite the obvious health hazards, immorality worried reformers and outsiders more than any other tenement condition. Those living outside the tenements believed the filthy, disease-ridden tenement environment both physically and spiritually infected tenants, turning them into unruly hedonists. Alcoholism and prostitution became common practices in the tenements and destroyed the family unit by facilitating abuse and neglect (Lubove 45), both family norms for Crane's Maggie.

With the failure of the dumb-bell design, reformers still sought to improve the poor's morality through architecture. Taking design concepts from Europe, the wealthy developer Alfred T. White of Brooklyn built a series of model tenements that featured exterior stairwells and a two-room deep concept, improvements to the previous tenement designs because they provided better air and light, as well as a sink and water closet for each apartment (Lubove 35). White made it clear that the main purpose of his tenements was not to improve living conditions but to improve morality through environment, all the while making this environment profitable. He stated, "the reformer must never view housing as a charity in which the poor get something for nothing, [but]. . . as a business venture . . . to prove that good housing paid" (qtd. in Lubove 36-37). Though White's model tenement promoted health and safety, he failed to make the models financially enticing and thus his reform did little to remedy the tenement problem.

Reformers also created the sanitary police, as part of the 1879 Tenement Housing Law, to help improve tenement conditions, which proved to be a very backwards way of enforcing sanitary guidelines. The sanitary police, under the direction of the Board of Health, were tasked to enforce housing codes. For example, according to tenement code amendments, tenement landlords had to provide one water closet for every fifteen people and running water on every floor (Lubove 33). However, the Board of Health often justified inadequate codes and instead instructed the sanitary police to drive out lodgers from overcrowded apartments as part of disease-prevention, though the lodgers only participated in illegal overcrowding because they needed extra money in order to pay rent (Riis 48-49). By turning to the sanitary police, reformers placed the burden of maintaining health standards on the shoulders of the tenants rather than tenement owners. Additionally, the size of the sanitary police force was comical: the 1879 Tenement Law provided for 30 policemen, and in 1884 the Tenement Housing Commission

increased this number to a whopping 45—a ridiculous number to manage 1,000,000 tenement lodgers (Lubove 32-33). Many sanitary policemen skipped their night shifts (Riis 48), but with such an impossible task assigned to them, their lack of dedication is not surprising. Political corruption further rendered the sanitary police incapable of improving the tenement problem. Tammany Hall, an extremely powerful political machine, controlled the New York City police department by offering positions not to those most qualified, but to those who would support the politics of the machine. Many police officers also engaged in the very immoral behavior they were instructed to regulate, such as consorting with prostitutes, because they were not punished by the department for doing so. Though the mayor created the Lenox Committee (1894) and the Mazet Committee (1899) to document police corruption (Lubove 69), the exposure of the corruption crippled the police department even more by hanging their dirty laundry out to dry. Additionally, recognizing the corruption and remedying the corruption proved to be two separate challenges, challenges the local government was incapable of resolving.

The descriptions of tenement housing conditions in Crane's novella match the historical descriptions and images of the tenements. He describes Maggie's tenement building as "a dark region where, from a careening building, a dozen gruesome doorways gave up loads of babies to the street and the gutter" (Crane 10). He continues, "A thousand odors of cooking food came forth to the street. The building quivered and creaked from the weight of humanity stamping about its bowels" (10). He also describes how these housing conditions effected the inhabitants: "Withered persons, in curious postures of submission to something, sat smoking pipes in obscure corners" (10).

Several years prior to the publication of *Maggie,* Jacob Riis began his rise as champion of Progressive Era tenement reform, playing a significant role in documenting the tenement

conditions Crane and other writers would describe, as well as stimulating new legislation that prohibited certain tenement practices. Born in a Danish village in 1849, Jacob Riis immigrated to America at the age of twenty. Beginning as a traveling workman, he worked at lumber mills, shipyards, furniture factories, and icehouses across the eastern states. He later purchased a magic lantern, or stereopticon, which he used to project business advertisements onto white sheets. Eventually Riis found employment as a police reporter for the *New York Tribune* and the *Evening Sun* (Yocehlson). In 1888 he published an article entitled "Flashes from the Slums," which included wood engravings from photographs (Hales 167). With the help of two assistants, Riis fervidly photographed the horrid living conditions of the tenements and began presenting his findings in stereopticon slide presentations across the country. In 1890 he published *How the Other Half Lives*, a photojournalism work which combined rhetoric with his photography (Yochelson). Riis's book *How the Other Half Lives* received wide-spread public praise. The combination of photography and rhetoric captivated both readers and critics, stimulating the end of unethical police lodging houses and rear tenements, as well as unmasking the profit-driven origin of the tenements (Hales 179, 183).

Many secondary sources identify both Crane and Riis as important historical figures that accurately depicted tenement life; however, few realize or acknowledge that Crane and Riis actually met on several occasions. One of the few, Stanley Wertheim, a renowned Crane scholar, notes that on July 20, 1892, Crane attended one of Riis's lectures at Avon-by-the-Sea as a *Tribune* reporter, and his report appeared in the *Tribune* four days later (Wertheim and Sorrentino 76). Crane would not only have been familiar Riis's work, but would have had the chance to speak to him about his reform.

Although *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* was designed in part to portray the inhumane living conditions experienced by those in the tenements, Crane's novel also seems to be a critique of Jacob Riis's militaristic style of reform. Riis adopted militaristic reform strategies to become more like Theodore Roosevelt, his close personal friend and the era's icon of masculinity. Writing a literary work rather than a journal article gave Crane the liberty to fully analyze the ethical errors resulting from Riis's masculinization of reform through civic militarism. Crane did not simply want to reveal "how the other half lives," but he also wanted to unmask how Riis's militaristic reform dehumanized and exploited the immigrants living in the tenements. Through *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets,* Crane critiques Riis's use of three basic components of civic militarism: re-directed primal passions, his order and efficiency, and his imperialistic views.

In *How the Other Half Lives*, Riis shows how immigrants have primal passions but portrays these passions as making them susceptible to being ill-used or taken advantage of rather than as tools for moral improvement. Riis actually uses the word "passion" throughout his work to describe many of the immigrants' primitive traits. For example, he attributes Chinese violence to their "base passions" (Riis 71). He credits the Italian immigrant for having endurance, but criticizes him for using his endurance to tolerate abuse rather than fight for moral justice: the Italian man is "content to live in a pig-sty and submit to robbery at the hands of the rent-collector without murmur" (37). In regards to the Chinese, Riis claims they have "traits of cruel cunning and savage fury when aroused" (67). Rather than using this aggressive intelligence to promote moral purity in the districts, Riis explains that the cunning and fury are "cruel" and "savage," passions that enslave young white girls in prostitution by addicting them to opium. Explaining that "[m]oney is their God," Riis explains how thrift in "Jewtown" is a "cardinal virtue and its

foul disgrace . . . . an over-mastering passion" (73). Thrift mirrors a primitive need to store food and prepare for hard times. He continues to explain how thrift is a primal passion for Jews: "It is surprising to see how strong the instinct of dollars and cents is in them. They can count, and correctly, almost before they can talk" (77).

Riis attributes these base passions to two causes: moral weakness in immigrants and the lack of moral examples in their environment. He explains that "the temptation of having to pay no rent is too strong" so many Italians exhibit moral weakness and live in the dumps (39). He also explains how the Italian man cannot be controlled by authorities on Sundays, "when he settles down to a game of cards and lets loose all his bad passions" (39). Again, Italians do not have the moral strength to even adhere to the law. Similarly, Riis explains how the Chinese seem immune to Christianity:

> I state it in advance as my opinion, based on the steady observation of years, that all attempts to make an effective Christian of John Chinaman will remain abortive in this generation. . . . Ages of senseless idolatry, a mere grub-worship, have left him without the essential qualities for appreciated the gentle teachings of a faith whose motive and unselfish spirit are alike beyond his grasp. He lacks the handle of a strong faith in something, anything, however wrong, to catch him by. There is nothing strong about him, except his passions when aroused. (64)

Later in *How the Other Half Lives,* Riis recounts a Christian minister's experiences preaching in Jewtown. The minister explains that he feels like Paul—the Jews remain engaged until he mentions Jesus Christ, at which point they become so angry he feels like they will carry him off and stone him. After discussing the minister's account, Riis states, "They stand, these East Side Jews, where the new day that dawned on Calvary left them standing stubbornly refusing to see

the light" (76). The Jews, in Riis's mind, cannot accept a blatant truth because they are too morally incompetent to progress in their understanding. In addition to believing the immigrants in the tenements to be morally inferior and thus incapable of re-directing their primal passions, Riis also believes they have no moral examples to follow. In the introduction of his work, Riis discusses a meeting held by the city that "how to lay hold of these teeming masses in the tenements with Christian influences, to which they are now too often strangers." To respond to this dilemma Riis quotes a Brooklyn builder who said, "How shall the love of God be understood by those who have been nurtured in sight only of the greed of man?" (8).

Because Riis believes the immigrants in the tenements do not have good examples of moral behavior, Riis demonstrates how one should use primal passions for moral purposes by utilizing religious language. His voice throughout the work rings with the primal passions of intensity and aggressiveness, yet like a preacher, he intensely and aggressively discusses morality. In his introduction, he declares that the tenements are problematic because "above all, they [the tenements] touch the family life with deadly moral contagion. This is their worse crime" (7). He depicts the battle of the tenements as a battle with the devil himself. He states, "The first tenement New York knew bore the mark of Cain from its birth" (9) and "the devil planned and man built it" (31). He also titles his chapter on young boy gangs "The Harvest of the Tares," tying the growth of a criminal class to a parable in order to demonstrate his knowledge of the Bible. In his introduction he explains what will solve the tenement problem: "The remedy that shall be an effective answer to the coming appeal for justice must proceed from the public conscience" (8). Thus *How the Other Half Lives* and his stereopticon presentations, which seek social justice through the public conscience, prove to be moral use of his courage, aggression, and endurance. He closes the work by stating, "Whatever a man soweth, that shall he also reap"

(194), pressing for the public to become involved in tenement reformation because they have contributed to the problem.

Like Riis, Crane characterizes immigrants in *Maggie* as primitive, animalistic, and immoral, driven by the same primal passions that Riis describes; however, *all* characters in the novel have these primal passions and *all* characters fail to direct these passions for moral purposes, including both municipal and religious figures. The novella opens with Jimmie, Maggie's brother, "fighting in the modes of four thousand years ago" with other boys (Crane 9). In addition to the primitive physical violence of Jimmie and other immigrants, those who live in the tenements possess animalistic characteristics. Maggie's mother howls and roars (12, 13) and is referred to as an "overgrown terrier" (37). Pete sees himself as "a lion of lordly characteristics" (48), and even Maggie, the most moral character, has "air of spaniel-like dependence" (53). Jimmie and Pete fight in the bar like "roosters" (45), and Maggie's home in the tenements is described as a "panther den" (16). Though these characterizations follow suite with *How the Other Half Lives,* the police and a religious leader, the only other characters mentioned in the novella, *also* act primitively and immorally. Crane explains how the police "prey" on the poor in the streets like predators (20).

Similarly, Crane intentionally places a religious figure in the novel because a religious man, out of all men, should certainly use his primal passions, such as courage, to save lost souls like Maggie. However, when Maggie approaches the "stout gentleman in a silk hat and a chaste black coat," he fails to utilize his primal passions for good (63):

> The girl had heard of the Grace of God and she decided to approach this man. His beaming, chubby face was a picture of benevolence and kind-heartedness. His eyes shone good-will. But as the girl timidly accosted him, he gave a convulsive

> movement and saved his respectability by a vigorous sidestep. He did not risk it to save a soul (64).

In this passage, Crane also feminizes the minister, who is the most reform-like character in the novella as he seeks to save souls, reforming man's carnal desires to moral discipline. By describing the minister as "a picture of benevolence and kind-heartedness," with eyes that "shone good-will" who is wearing silk, Crane strips away the masculine theatrics of the spiritual reformer to show the man as naturally fearful and concerned with self-preservation.

Crane's voice in the novella also intentionally contrasts with Riis's moralistic, preacher-like voice; lack of emotion and objectivity make it clear that Crane is not trying to demonstrate how to use primal passions to become moral. Rather, Crane is trying to help readers empathize with the immigrant experience by portraying reality stripped of pathos. He scatters short, emotionless sentences throughout the novella, such as "The babe, Tommie, died." (18), "Maggie stood up." (57), "Maggie turned and went." (60). These flat, emotionless sentences belie the tragedies they describe: the death of a baby, Maggie's realization that Pete does not love her, and Maggie's ejection from her home. Crane even shows how moralistic emotion in the novella is performed rather than genuinely felt. In the closing scene, Maggie's mother publically forgives her daughter by wailing and creating a spectacle in front of her neighbors. Crane makes it clear early in the novella that her gospel-like proclamation of forgiveness would lack genuineness because "The old woman was a gnarled and leathery personage who could don, at will, an expression of great virtue" (14). Similarly, each time the police arrest Maggie's mother for drunkenness, she uses "the story of her daughter's downfall with telling effect upon the police justices" (52). With her face "a *picture* of agony," she performs her melodrama for the justices so

many times that they tell her that, according to court records, she is the mother of 42 ruined daughters (emphasis added; 52).

In an attempt to manage the moral chaos of the slums, Riis categorizes the immigrants, using order and efficiency to analyze the problem and devise a solution; however, such militaristic categorization erases the individual and perpetuated racial stereotypes. Throughout *How the Other Half Lives* Riis uses statistics to analyze the situation, but by doing so, causes the immigrants to become numerical figures and percentages rather than individuals. Riis's fixation on classification continues as he uses race to classify the immigrants. He devotes several chapters to describing the mannerisms and habits of various races. His writing is also saturated with racial stereotypes. These stereotypes range from harmless, almost comical observations such as "Jews' favorite color is gray" to derogatory assumptions about intelligence: "the Italian learns slowly, if at all" (Riis 22, 39). Racial stereotypes suggest that the immigrants are easily categorized. Additionally, categorization of the "masses" rather than "individuals" makes the immigrants animalistic rather than humanistic. Such animalization of the immigrants is evident in the line, "The Italian is gay, light-hearted and, if his *fur* is not stroked the wrong way, inoffensive as a child" (emphasis added; Riis 40). Riis also employs geographical maps to categorize the immigrants. By assigning a color to each race, such as green for the Irish, red for Italians, and black for African Americans, Riis combines the racial stereotypes with racial classifications to produce an even more dehumanized categorization—a stereotypical color. Racial stereotypes even inundate these racial colors: Riis asserts that the Arab tribe would be a "dirty stain" on the map (22).

The numerous rhetorical classifications continue in the captions of Riis's photography. Of all the captions, only a few include individuals' names. Most are general classifications such

as "Girl and baby on doorstep," "Stale bread vendor," and "Two typical rogues" (Weinstein 210). The use of this last caption is particularly interesting. At the time of Riis's publication, photographs were commonly used to identify criminals, as well as the type of people who would commit crimes (210). Thus Riis's photographs not only portrayed the tenement dwellers, but also implied the type of people who would fall inevitably fall into such morally-lax situations (210).

The implementation of statistics, racism, and captions as categorizing techniques proves problematic. In the process of trying to organize the chaotic tenement situation, Riis "takes individual tenement dwellers and turns them, through the power of his writing and of his photographic images, into ethnic stereotypes ideally fit for statistical analysis" (Weinstein 196). In the attempt to save the masses, the individual is lost. As Weinstein wrote, "We are continually told about their 'hard and unattractive language[s]' but we very rarely hear their voices" (212). The tenement-dwellers' voices are suppressed by not only being classified by a middle-class outsider, but also the dehumanizing organizational tactics this outsider implements.

Crane mirrors Riis's militaristic categorization and then shows the consequences of labeling immigrants. The title of Crane's novella acts as a categorization: Maggie is "a girl of the streets." In addition to being a euphemism for prostitute, "a girl of the streets" sounds like one of the nameless captions Riis would assign to a photograph. Maggie only loses her virginity and becomes a girl of the streets when that label is placed on her by her mother. In her usual drunken state, her mother tells Maggie that she is a whore:

> "The hell wid him and you," she said, glowering at her daughter in the gloom. Her eyes seemed to burn balefully. "Yeh've gone the deh devil, Mag Johnson, yehs knows yehs have gone the deh devil. Yer a disgrace the yer people, damn ye. An' now, git out an' go ahn wid date doe-faced jude of yours. Go the hell wid him,

> damn yeh, an' a good riddance. Go the hell an' see how ye likes it." Maggie gazed long at her mother. "Go the hell now an' see how yeh likes it. Git out. I won't have sech as yehs in me house! Get out, d'yeh hear! Damn yeh, git out!" The girl began to tremble. . . . She went. (39)

Not until Maggie is told to go with Pete and is labelled as a whore does she actually become one. Crane thus demonstrates how labels can become a self-fulfilling prophecy, causing someone to do something they would not otherwise do.

Crane also attacks Riis's categorization by showing the individuality and complexity of all immigrants in the novella. Nell, who lures Pete away from Maggie, represents almost a *femme fatale*; she controls men with her sexuality and finds power in doing so. Pete objectifies Maggie and thus does not show any sort of emotion when he casts her aside. In contrast, Jimmie is both critical of and sympathetic to Maggie. He "publically damned his sister that he might appear on a higher social plane" (52) and shakes off a girl named Hattie after having sex with her, just like Pete did to Maggie (59). However, Jimmie wants Maggie to come home after being ruined (50), yet when she does, he tells her to go to hell (60). Maggie's mother is aggressive and violent and constantly drunk. Maggie's mother is a foil to Maggie. With "pumpkin pie and virtue" in her eyes, Maggie "blossomed in a mud puddle. She grew to be a most rare and wonderful production of a tenement district, a pretty girl. None of the dirt of Rum Alley seemed to be in her veins" (22). She seems ignorant of the evil in the world, whereas her mother is so very aware that she drinks to avoid that reality.

To further criticize militaristic order, Crane makes Pete, the antagonist, concerned with order. The bar owner at Pete's work excuses a fight that Pete participates in because, as Pete explains,"Yeh've gota keep order an' it's all right" (24). Crane also explains how the items in the

bar during Pete's shift are arranged with "mathematical precision" and "geometrical accuracy" (43). When Nell comes back in town, Pete simply drops Maggie to maintain order and prevent conflict between the two women and does so mechanically, without remorse.

Riis also embodied imperialism as part of his civic militarism; rather than colonizing other countries, he ventured into the never-before explored terrain of the tenement. In the middle of the night while accompanying the sanitary police, Riis literally burst into tenements to take photographs, capturing the surprise of the tenement-dwellers. He intentionally hunted "for those offguard moments when he could glimpse the private essence of American urban poverty" (Hales 169). Riis himself stated, "I saw the slum when off its guard" (qtd. in Hales 167).

The very process of taking his photographs illustrates Riis's imperialism because he shoots a gun to create a flash for his camera. Riis used blitzlichtpulver, an explosive combination of powdered magnesium and two other substances, a new invention in the late nineteenth century (Hales 171). By igniting an artificial light, Riis could take photographs in the dark underbelly of the tenements in the middle of the night. Riis stored the blitzlichtpulver inside cartridges that he fired from a revolver (171). Riis himself admitted the revolver caused many problems: "The spectacle of half a dozen strange men invading a house in the midnight hour armed with big pistols which they shot off recklessly was hardly reassuring, however sugary our speech, and it was not to be wondered at if the tenants bolted through windows and down fire escapes wherever we went" (171). He tried using a frying pan instead of a revolver to abate this fright, but the frying pan proved extremely dangerous, causing him to set fire to both himself and the tenements. In one instance, Riis barely managed to put out a fire in a tenement full of blind beggars (177). Yet despite the fear and dangers caused by both the revolver and the frying pan, Riis continued to use the artificial light (193). Martha Rosler calls Riis's work "victim

photography," which seems very appropriate (qtd. in Quirke). The tenement dwellers were physical victims, as their homes were being invaded in the late hours of the night and threatened with fire hazards; they were also emotional victims because the revolver caused fear and confusion.

Further "victimizing" the tenement-dwellers, Riis also invaded the most private dwelling of an individual for many of his photographs—the home, which evokes the same emotional attachments as one to their native country. Though entering the female sphere of the home, his *invasion* of the home with the sanitary police while shooting his gun masculinized his reform. Riis took figure 6 below at a police lodging house. The image captures Riis's invasion of the personal lives of immigrants. The woman lived at the police lodging house and she slept every night on the wooden plank behind her. On the right side of the frame, a hand is extending into the picture—Riis's hand or the hand of one of his assistants. Additionally, the image almost looks like the woman has a gun held to her head. Though Riis showed a disregard for the tenement-dwellers' privacy, like the photograph illustrates, he hypocritically advocated for immigrants to create privacy, to put up some sort of defense from outsiders. He remarks, "A locked door is a strong point in favor of the flat. It argues that the first step has been taken to secure privacy, the absence of which is the chief curse of the tenement" (qtd. in Weinstein). Such support for privacy proves ironic because Riis relies upon the immigrants' lack of privacy to obtain his photographs and masculinize his reform efforts. Additionally, Riis ironically criticizes tenement-dwellers who do attempt to maintain any sort of privacy. When some Chinese tenants portray a desire to keep their homes private, he states that "stealth and secretiveness" are part of the Chinaman (qtd. in Weistein 206). Riis cannot concede to the fact that tenement-dwellers attempt to maintain their privacy because such is the first step in making the other half "other"

(Weinstein 206). He must exploit their privacy and burst into their domain in order to Americanize them and homogenize the tenement districts.

Fig. 6
Police Station Lodgers 8. An ancient women lodger in Eldridge Street Station. 1890.

Riis rightfully attributes the tenement conditions to proprietors' exploitation of the immigrants, but he fails to see how he himself also profits from their exploitation, as would the governing country of a colony. Maren Stange expands on this idea, defining his slide presentations as "imperialist entertainment" (qtd. in Quirke). Riis's imperialist thinking includes notions of Capitalism and commercialization: his "raiding party" resulted in "products for middle-class consumption," such as social lectures, photographs, journal articles, and books (qtd. in Quirke). By exposing the horrors of tenement life, Riis is able to escape that very life, gaining both monetary profit and social esteem.

In *Maggie,* there is a pattern of characters watching and being watched, especially during moments where observing would be a violation of privacy; in these moments, Crane utilizes

imagery that is similar to a camera to "photograph" these scenes in order to critique Riis's imperialistic photography style. When Maggie tries to come home after losing her virginity, Crane states, "Through the open doors curious eyes stared in at Maggie . . . . with airs of profound philosophy" (Crane 60). Readers connect this camera imagery with another similar statement later in the scene: "As the girl passed down through the hall, she went before open doors framing more eyes strangely microscopic, and sending broad beams of inquisitive light into the darkness of her path" (60). The curious eyes in the first quote literally refer to the eyes of the neighbors, yet symbolically they represent the audiences who viewed Riis's photographs. They gain access to viewing such tragic tenement scenes through his camera eye. The "eyes strangely microscopic" that send in "broad beams of inquisitive light" help reinforce this connection between the eyes of the neighbors and the eye of a camera lens. The light brings to mind blitzlichtpulver. The *inquisitiveness* of the light and the *curiosity* of the eyes allude to Riis's imperialistic intrusion into life in the tenements. The word "framing" also alludes to a camera as it is vocabulary of a photographer. Riis has "airs of profound philosophy" once he gains access to viewing these scenes through the lens of his camera. The camera references come at moments when it seems wrong to view her vulnerability, where readers feel uncomfortable with the photography Crane creates through his imagery.

At Maggie's lowest moment, when she walks away with the old man by the river, Crane utilizes camera imagery to illustrate the wrongness of intrusion. The client had "greasy garments," his eyes "swept over the girl's upturned face," and he laughed with beer dripping from his beard. Crane continues: "His whole body gently quivered and shook like that of a dead jelly fish" (66). When Maggie goes with her new client, Crane places camera imagery to capture the explicit scene which he cannot literally describe: "Some hidden factory sent up a yellow

glare, that lit for a moment the waters lapping oilily [sic] against timbers" (66). The glare that lights up the scene of the water for only a moment alludes to Riis's flash, which allowed viewers to glimpse scenes of the tenements for just a moment, long enough to capture a picture. The imagery of oily water, symbolizing the man in "greasy garments," lapping against timbers disgusts readers because the scene alludes to what Maggie is going to do with the perverted man. Crane not only wants readers to be sickened with Maggie's conditions, the same emotional reaction Riis desired from his audience, but he also wants readers to be disgusted with *how* they are gaining access to such graphic details. They only see the symbolic lapping because a glare or flash lights up the scene. Crane thus critiques Riis's imperialistic style of photography that not only captures exploitation in the works but also exploits the subject further.

Through Maggie, Crane parallels the exploitation of foreign, virgin land with the exploitation of a foreign, virgin girl. Imperialism involves rape and Maggie is essentially raped by Pete and also by the men she employs through street-walking. Maggie is sexually exploited to show the hypocritical nature of invading property or individuals with the attitude of knowing what the invaded want or need. Crane captures the entitlement a country feels to expand their boundaries onto others' property by showing the entitlement Pete and other men feel toward Maggie's property—her body.

In addition to critiquing Riis's civic militarism, Crane exposes Riis's performance of masculinity by implementing vaudeville into his novel to show how gender identities are performed. Pete and Maggie attend vaudeville repeatedly in the novella, and Maggie wants to imitate the feminine identities she sees on stage. She watches the burlesque dancers and thinks about how much money the silks and laces would cost (30). Additionally, she "wondered if the culture and refinement she had seen imitated, perhaps grotesquely, by the heroine one the stage,

could be acquired by a girl who lived in a tenement house and worked in a shirt factory" (35). Maggie also wants Pete to imitate the masculine identities on the stage. She sees the same story line played out over and over again on the stage—a heroine rescued from her home by a hero with, of course, a revolver (34). However, despite the fact that these identities seem to be "very accurately drawn" to the audience and to Maggie, who view the stories as "transcendental realism," they are not realistic (35). One moment that clearly exposes how the stage identities are an illusion is when Maggie believes the ventriloquist's dolls to be real. She asks Pete, "Do does little men talk?" to which Pete responds, "Naw, it's some damn fake" (30). Like the ventriloquist doll, the gender identities in the plays are "damn fake," an illusion to elicit emotional responses from the audience.

Additionally, Maggie, the only genuine, pure individual in the novella becomes ruined when she believes Pete to be a real man, when in reality he is merely performing masculinity like Riis. As a sixteen-year-old, Crane explains how Pete had the "chronic sneer of an ideal manhood already set upon his lips" (8). Later when Maggie meets Pete, she "perceived that here was the beaut ideal of a man" (25). When Maggie talks about her difficult family life to Pete, Crane states that Pete "responded in tones of philanthropy" (48). Similarly, while conducting research for *How the Other Half Lives,* Riis, the philanthropist, would have asked immigrants about their family life. Both philanthropists, however, exploit Maggie in their performance of masculinity. Like Pete, Riis desired to be perceived as a real man in the Progressive Era, but in order to do so, he cannot treat immigrants more humanely. He must conform to the rules of militarism.

CHAPTER 3

In *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets,* Stephen Crane briefly alludes to another ailment, in addition to the tenement problem, that New York municipals sought to remedy—the corruption of the police department. Crane explains how Jimmie, Maggie's brother, believes the police to be corrupt: "To him the police were always actuated by malignant impulses, and the rest of the world was composed, for the most part, of despicable creatures who were all trying to take advantage of him, and with whom, in defense, he was obliged to quarrel on all possible occasions" (20). Crane actually seems to articulate his own opinion about the police through Jimmie several pages later as he has Jimmie "contemplate" his feelings towards the police department: "When he paused to contemplate the attitude of the police toward himself and his fellows, he believed that they were the only men in the city who had no rights. When driving about he felt liable by the police for anything that might occur on the streets, and that he was the common prey of all energetic officials" (20). Crane also provides a concrete example of how the police abuse Jimmie. When Jimmie drove around in his truck for work, he "learned to breathe maledictory defiance at the police, who occasionally used to climb up, drag him from his perch, and punch him" (19).

Jimmie's feelings toward the New York Police department, or Crane's feelings expressed through Jimmie, exemplify the feelings of many New Yorkers during the 1890s. The Lexow Committee of 1894, which documented Tammany Hall's corruption of the police department over the course of a year, found that police captains collected money from brothel and saloon owners in exchange for promising not to raid their establishments (49). At times officers forced payments out of the owners with their night sticks (53). Additionally, the committee discovered that officers paid money to the department to be promoted and to maintain their positions. To

become a captain with a salary of $2,750, officers had to pay at least $12,000 or more to the department annually (51). Members of the department made significant amounts of money from contracting on the streets and from department "fees." In one account, a captain, his inspector, and two ward men regularly split about $20,000 a month from accumulated fees from brothels, saloons, and other officers' dues (53). During the committee's investigation, officers evaded self-incrimination by coming up with outlandish stories to explain how they accumulated such wealth so quickly. When the committee questioned Inspector Alexander S. Williams, he attributed his large savings account, fancy home in the city, country home in Connecticut, and yacht to good fortune in Japanese real estate (50). The committee's final report, with 10,576 pages of testimony and 678 witnesses, found that brothels, gambling houses, saloons, and departmental fees increased the police department budget from $5, 139, 147.64, which the government appropriated, to $15,354,147.64 (54).

In an attempt to eradicate the department's corruption, the mayor appointed Theodore Roosevelt as a commissioner in 1895. After serving as chairman for the Lexow Committee, Roosevelt deeply understood the level of corruption in the department and entered the position determined to implement civic militarism to bring morality, order, and regulation to the force. When he entered the office, he stated, "I have the most important, and the most corrupt, department in New York on my hands. I shall speedily assail some of the ablest, shrewdest men in this city, who will be fighting for their lives, and I know well how hard the task ahead of me is" (Jeffers, epigraph).

One of these shrewd men was Jacob Riis. Around the time Riis published *How the Other Half Lives,* Riis stopped by the *Sun's* downtown offices to find that someone had left him a calling card and a note at the front desk. The note, from Roosevelt, said "I have read your book

and I have come to help." Riis explained his reaction to reading the note: "It was like a man coming to enlist for a war because he believed in the cause" (qtd. in Jeffers 33). Between 1895 and 1897, Riis and Roosevelt, who would remain life-long friends, regularly walked the streets together in the early morning hours to ensure officers were on-duty (Berman 57). Additionally, Riis and other police reports had an office right across the street from police headquarters on Mulberry Street, so the two had many opportunities to remedy social ills together (Jeffers 28).

Roosevelt, like Riis, strongly believed in the importance of order and efficiency and thus applied a sort of Taylorism to department procedures in order to eliminate opportunities for officers to exercise their own judgment. He specified procedures for handling and distributing the five million dollar budget (63), revised and condensed the long-outdated policy manual (64), and created specialized squads to tackle particular types of vice (65). He improved the structures and sanitation of precinct buildings and updated technologies within the buildings (66). Roosevelt also developed an assembly line-like process for hiring new officers that was designed to avoid patronage, or the favoring of applicants based on their party affiliation. Prior to Roosevelt's instatement, affiliation with the Democratic Party and a three-hundred dollar contribution to Tammany Hall (disguised as an entrance fee) almost always guaranteed employment as an officer. In the first stage of the new application process, Roosevelt required physical examinations of applicants specifying age, height, and weight requirements (69, 71). After passing the physical examination, applicants then had to pass a test with five parts: spelling, penmanship, writing, arithmetic, and knowledge of U.S. geography, history, and government (71-73). Roosevelt entrusted captains to complete background checks for applicants and held them personally responsible for any hires that proved to be less than worthy (74). In addition to creating order by establishing a hiring protocol, Roosevelt utilized more efficient

ways of catching criminals. He adopted the Bertillion system, which utilized fingerprints, measurements of unique physical features, and photographs to identify criminals (92).

Additionally, Roosevelt stressed order and efficiency because, as a staunch imperialist, he believed these militaristic practices to be vital in maintaining control over both his troops and the enemy on the streets; like the colonizer, he implemented a strict hierarchy of power in the department and micromanaged the activities of his officers on the streets. Though Roosevelt actually shared responsibility of the department with three other commissioners, he believed the department needed a strong executive position and thus unofficially acted as Head of the Board. Unlike any commissioners before him, Roosevelt monitored the daily operations within the department in addition to constructing and enforcing department policies, a duty normally fulfilled by the Chief of Police (Berman 56). In this way, Roosevelt stood as watchmen over his laborers, domineering the domains of other employees to maintain his power. He made it clear to his men that he would not tolerate any laziness or participation in immoral behaviors. He regularly walked the streets with Riis or another police reporter, holding a chart with each officer's beats and posts and checked them off as he saw officers on-duty (57).

As part of Roosevelt's imperialistic strategy, Roosevelt participated in legalistic policing to solidify officers' loyalty to him and to the law. In Jay Stuart Berman's book *Police Administrations and Progressive Reform*, Berman explains how James Q. Wilson's theory of legalistic policing applies to Roosevelt's administration of the police department. According to Wilson, a Harvard professor of political science, the legalistic style of policing is often implemented when a new administrator must regain hegemony. The ideology involves breaking up previous alliances in order to create a centralized authority (94), much like a colonizer. The legalistic style also emphasizes the importance of creating a "fixed standard of behavior" and

mandates strict law enforcement rather than questioning of the ethicality or rationality of laws (94-95). Likewise, Roosevelt felt that "the one all-important element in good citizenship is obedience to the law and nothing is more needed than the resolute enforcement of the law" (qtd. in 95). He instructed his captains that, "no matter if you think the law is a bad one; you must see that your men carry out your orders to the letter" (qtd. in 107). Such rigidness and specificity, aimed at improving efficiency, demonstrates Roosevelt's imperialistic approach to reform.

Berman elaborates on Wilson's legalistic policing by explaining that Roosevelt adhered to civic law because he viewed civic law and moral law as one, a concept Berman calls "civilized morality" (97); by requiring civic obedience and thus redirecting the primal passions of others, Roosevelt viewed himself as a preserver of morality and not simply as an enforcer of law. If Roosevelt could convince his officers adhere to departmental policies as well as the law through micromanaging their daily activities, his officers would then in turn make citizens obey the law, thus improving the morality of the entire city of New York.

Crane came to know the commissioner around 1896 and formed strong opinions about Roosevelt's militaristic reform of the police department. Crane met Roosevelt at the Lantern Club, a literary club, in late 1895 or early 1896 (Wertheim 298). Roosevelt was also a member of the Authors Club and was at least an active member in 1893 because he was published in the club's 1893 publication *Libor Scriptorum* (Authors Club). Crane became a member of the Authors Club in early 1896 (Wertheim and Sorrentino, eds. 214), so it is possible that they had interactions at this literary club as well. How exactly Roosevelt and Crane's relationship developed from acquaintance to friendship is uncertain, but correspondence and others' accounts suggest they were somewhat close. Helen Crane, Crane's niece, remembers how he could spend all night talking with Roosevelt (Sorrentino, ed. 46). In an article in the October 1919 edition of

Everybody's Magazine, pictured below, Hamlin Garland accounts a lunch visit he had with Roosevelt, Riis, Stephen Crane, and another man at the end of 1895 or early 1896 in a bakery on Broadway (Garland). The article includes a sketch (fig. 7) with Roosevelt standing with raised fist, Riis at his side on his right, and Crane across the table on the right smoking. In a letter to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, Roosevelt notes he had dinner in New York with Jacob Riis and Stephen Crane sometime in mid-July (Wertheim and Sorrentino 198). Also in mid-July, 1896, Crane asks Garland to join him and Roosevelt that night at the Lantern Club in an inscribed copy of *George's Mother* (193).

Fig. 7 Sketch of Crane, Riis, and Roosevelt together in "My Neighbor, Theodore Roosevelt" by Garland

In addition to knowing Crane through literary circles, Roosevelt appeared to be a fan of Crane's writing. In a letter sent to Crane, as seen below, Roosevelt states, "I have much to discuss with you about 'Madge,'" referring to *Maggie* (196). In a letter in August 1896, Roosevelt acknowledges that he has several of Crane's works and that he would like an autographed copy of *Red Badge of Courage* (201). Additionally, Roosevelt gave Crane exclusive access to observe the police department for some articles he was writing in the *New York Journal* (Wertheim 298), as seen in figure 8 below (Police Department). On July 20, 1896, Roosevelt agreed to be interviewed by Crane and on September 14, 1896 he allowed Crane to observe the Jefferson Market Police Court (Wertheim and Sorrentino 196, 205).

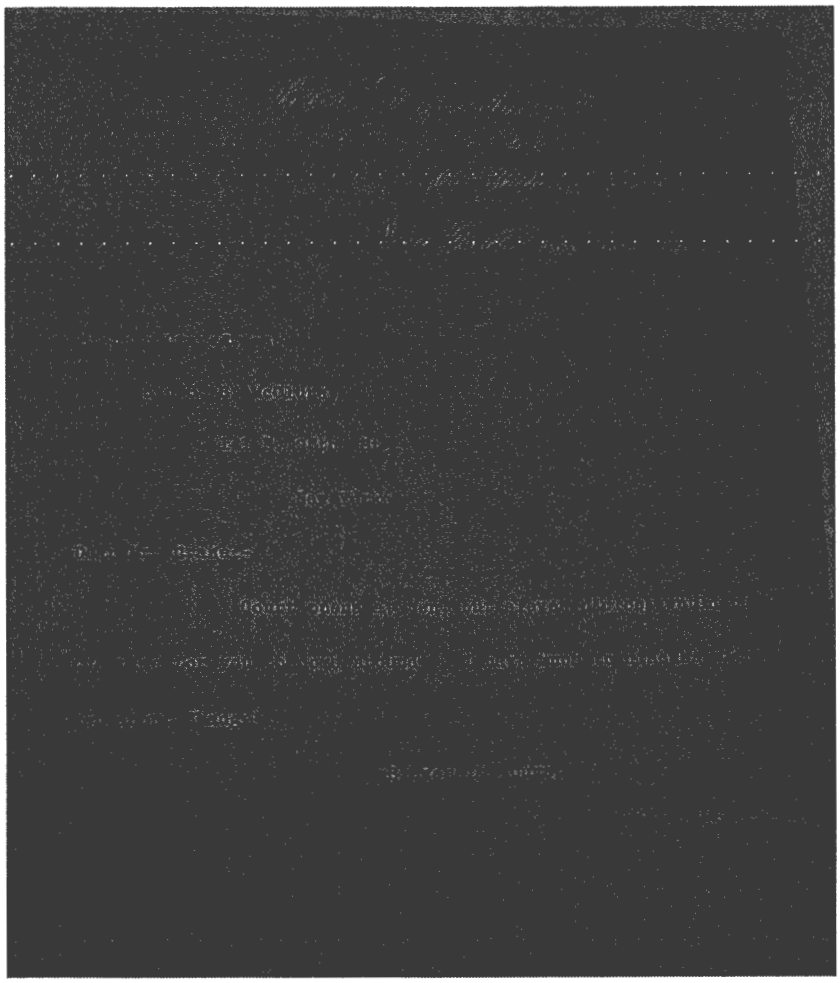

Fig. 8 Letter from Police Department of the City of New York to Stephen Crane

Though scholars have noted that Crane knew both Riis and Roosevelt, no scholar has sufficiently analyzed the significance of their interactions. Most do not even acknowledge that Crane ever met Jacob Riis or acknowledge so in a footnote. Though every comprehensive biography of Crane acknowledges his interaction with Roosevelt, they do not analyze the significance of their friendship in relation to the larger social dynamics of the Progressive Era. In his dissertation "Strenuous Lives: Stephen Crane, Theodore Roosevelt, and the American 1890s," Matthew Quinn Evertson parallels the lives of Roosevelt and Crane. In chapters 3 and 4 he discusses their brief interaction in New York City. Evertson thoroughly and convincingly contrasts their differing attitudes towards the poor, the wealthy, and reform, as well as discusses Riis in connection to the two men. The chapters build to the climax of the Dora Clark incident, but Evertson then fails to contextualize the trial within the social environment of the Progressive Era. The trial merely seems like an interesting moment between two famous men in history and nothing more. However, like the connection between Crane and Riis, the short-lived friendship between Crane and Roosevelt provides incredible insight into the politics of social reform during the Progressive Era and the gendered struggle of male reformers to legitimize their reform through civic militarism. The relationship between Crane and Roosevelt functions as a case study in which the pressure to perform masculinity proved so great that Crane's failure to do so destroyed their friendship and created a lasting mark in history that scholars can now study today.

In the articles following Crane's observations of the police department, it became apparent that Crane disapproved of not only officers' behavior on the streets but also of Roosevelt's management at police headquarters. Crane published a series of three articles in the *Port Jervis Evening Gazette* criticizing Roosevelt's officers. Though scholars believe Crane

published the articles in a more obscure newspaper to preserve his friendship with Roosevelt, the articles clearly blames Roosevelt for the department's insufficiencies. The first article discuses "The wretched mismanagement" and "brutality and unnecessary harshness" of the police in managing a rally. Crane explains, "the fact is another reminder that what we have gained in official honesty through administrative reforms is more than counter-balanced by the effects of official incapacity and inexperience" (Wertheim and Sorrentino 201). Prior to publishing this article, Roosevelt wrote a letter to Crane explaining that though the police may have had their hands full at the rally, they never received any complaints from the men supposedly clubbed and the managers of the rally seemed pleased with the police effort (201). The second article attacks the Roosevelt police administration for using the blue laws to harass shopkeepers and also mentions police harassment of prostitutes, referring to the recent arrest of Dora Clark. Calling Dora an "unoffending and innocent woman," Crane criticizes "over zealous policemen" who abuse their power (202). The last article mocks police enforcement of the Raines law which prohibited the sale of liquor on Sunday except for in hotels, which the law specified as a building with at least ten bedrooms. Crane argued that enforcement of the law caused saloons to go out of business and replaced them with brothels, as saloon owners created make-shift rooms to qualify as hotels (204).

Crane's writing expresses frustration with Roosevelt's civic militarism because he believed it causes the powerful to abuse the powerless. In the *New York Journal,* Crane describes his experience at the police court as watching "the machinery of justice in full operation," the word machinery alluding to Roosevelt's Tayloristic remodeling of the police department. He also explains that he "must know more of that throng of unfortunates; he must study the police court victims in their haunts" (205). Crane criticizes the unfeeling machinery of justice because it

tramples the "throng of unfortunates," "police court victims in their haunts" (Wertheim and Sorrentino 205). Crane's novella *Maggie* echoes his frustrations with Roosevelt. Maggie only ends up a prostitute because her family and society cannot overlook her moral impurity, and thus their strict adherence to moral laws causes her to break civic laws. Crane does not believe in civilized morality but rather views the legal system as morally flawed and police officers as perpetuators of moral inconsistencies.

Crane's frustrations with Roosevelt as seen in his *Port Jervis* articles came to a head in September 1896 when Crane agreed to testify against the police department in a national trial. At 2:00 AM on September 16, 1896, Crane left the Broadway Garden, a resort with a scandalous reputation, accompanied by two chorus girls and Dora Clark, who, as mentioned in one of Crane's *Port Jervis* articles, had previously faced charges of prostitution. While Crane was escorting one chorus girl to a trolley car, patrolman Charles Becker arrested Dora Clark and the other chorus girl for soliciting and threatened to arrest Crane if he interfered. Becker let the chorus girl go when the girl claimed Crane to be her husband and Crane confirmed her statement (although it was untrue). Dora, however, was taken down to the 19th Precinct station where Crane, after contemplation, returned to make a statement confirming her innocence. The next day, Crane testified at the hearing before Magistrate Cornell and, on the basis of Crane's testimony, Cornell discharged Dora (206-207).

On October 2, Dora preferred charges of false arrest against Becker and other police officers who, she claimed, had previously arrested her under similar circumstances. Crane again agreed to testify on her behalf. Two days later, Becker assaulted Dora for bringing charges against him. The newspaper coverage of the attack only heightened the publicity of Crane's involvement in the trial, and Crane left New York for Philadelphia to stay with his friend Fredric

Lawrence to escape the publicity (210). While Crane was away in Philadelphia, the police department infiltrated his apartment and found an opium pipe in his room and accused him of living in an opium den. They also talked to a janitor who confirmed Crane's affiliations with prostitutes Sadie Traphagen and Amy Leslie. On October 15, the longest trial ever held in New York police quarters begins and Crane is hounded by the police department's investigation into his personal life. With Crane's character tainted, the court exonerated patrolman Becker. They determined that "although he was probably overzealous, he had made an honest mistake in the course of duty" (213).

What scholars have completed overlooked is Crane's utilization of the Dora Clark trial as a way to elicit reform. For a very brief moment, Crane steps into the shoes of a Progressive Era reformer. Dora Clark the individual becomes less important to Crane whereas Dora Clark the symbol of his reform moves to the forefront. Though Crane did not necessarily have a plan for *how* the police department should be reformed, he obviously disagreed with Roosevelt's civic militarism. By defending Dora, Crane could expose the inefficiencies of the civic militarism model and encourage a different model of reform. On September 20, after the first hearing, Crane published his version of the incident, "Adventures of a Novelist," in the *New York Journal* (207). In the article, Crane demonstrates that he is not concerned with the singular incident of Dora but with the overall exploitation of those like Dora by connecting Dora to Maggie. He explains his internal struggle to determine whether to testify on Dora's behalf by asking the question "Shall I take this risk for the benefit of a girl of the streets?" Dora thus becomes Maggie in the flesh, giving Crane an opportunity to defend what Maggie symbolizes—the exploitation of the working classes by militaristic reformers, like Riis and Roosevelt.

Crane stepped into the role of reformer knowing very well the necessity of being perceived as masculine to elicit reform. After observing the civic militarism of Riis and Roosevelt, he knew exactly which chords to strike in order for readers to perceive him like Riis and Roosevelt, heroic defenders of the public good. In his *New York Journal* account of the Dora Clark incident, Crane crafts his own masculinity but does so with such exaggeration that he both performs masculinity while also critiquing it and attacking the police department. In the article, Crane demonstrates his mastery of rhetoric to depict himself as imperialistic, orderly, and moral.

Crane's first demonstration of imperialism exists in his title: "Adventures of a Novelist." The word "Adventures" establishes that his presence in the Tenderloin is similar to an expedition in a foreign country. Like a man preparing for the colonization of a foreign land by recording observations for his mother country, Crane's use of the word "Adventures" separates himself from natives of the Tenderloin. His pronouncement of being a novelist in the title supports his claim to be an observer rather than participant as it justifies his presence. A novelist would only be in the Tenderloin to conduct literary research. Like Riis, Crane "others" those in the Tenderloin by explaining he "had sought a closer knowledge of the unfortunate *creatures* of the courts, and he found himself in the midst of them" (Adventures of a Novelist; emphasis added). The word "creatures" animalizes the working class who live in the slums, making those he observes even more primitive than the nameless faces in Riis's photography. Crane establishes his imperialistic stance by dehumanizing those he observes and classifying them as animals that need to be domesticated and Americanized.

Crane also tries to depict himself as a true man by demonstrating how, unlike the creatures, he has re-directed his primitive instincts towards a moral good. Throughout the entire piece, he refers to himself as "the reluctant witness," an blatant rhetorical maneuver that seems

rather sarcastic; however, by classifying himself as "reluctant," he expresses his discontent in defending someone he states, "in all probability,[is] a courtesan." Whatever her reputation might be, however, he knows she did not solicit when he was with her and, believing that "a wrong done to a prostitute must be as purely a wrong as a wrong done to a queen," he must defend truth. The adjective "reluctant" also shows Crane's instinctive desire for self-preservation being re-directed toward the preservation of a wrongly-accused woman (Adventures of a Novelist).

During the night of his arrest, Crane recognizes, as does the public, that he did not exercise the best moral judgment; aware of this fact and the threat it could present to his masculinity, he recasts these decisions in the article to show how they were, in fact, very moral decisions. Crane lied to the officer when he confirmed that he was the chorus girl's husband. Crane concedes that this occurrence is accurate but explains how he broke one moral law to fulfill an even greater one. He explains, "If it was necessary to avow a marriage to save a girl who is not a prostitute from being arrested as a prostitute, it must be done, though the man suffer eternally." In this concession he admits that he committed a moral wrong, but does so to save an innocent woman, a superior moral act that demonstrates a Christ-like willingness to endure persecution for the sake of another. Crane's second moral error is his hesitancy in deciding whether to return to the precinct and testify on Dora's behalf. Rather than depicting himself as simply divided, he explains that he was also preoccupied with administering comfort to the chorus girl. He explains, "her entire time had been devoted to sobbing in the wildest form of hysteria. The reluctant witness was obliged to devote his entire time to an attempt to keep her from making an uproar of some kind. This paroxysm of terror . . . and the extreme mental anguish caused by her unconventional and strange situation was so violent that the reluctant witness could not take time from her to give any testimony to the sergeant." Thus Crane again

manipulates a perceived moment of moral weakness to be a moment of moral strength. He portrays himself as a selfless man coming to the aid of a hysteric woman (Adventures of a Novelist).

In addition to establishing his morality, the article also establishes that Crane is a man of order through a sketch of him sitting at his desk (Fig. 9). Below the sketch the captions reads, "Mr. Stephen Crane in His Study." Though Crane did not draw the sketch and probably had very little or no say in what the artist drew, the artist surely would have chosen images that matched Crane's text. The fact that the artist would choose to depict Crane as adhering to the rules of civic militarism illustrates the incredible power of Crane's rhetoric. The choice to depict Crane in a study or den not only demonstrates re-directed primal passions, as Crane has evolved from primitive den to proper den, but the sketch also depicts Crane as a manager of chaos—his desk is messy, but he is regulating the chaos. In October 1895, exactly a year before the Dora Clark incident, *McClure's* Magazine featured an article written by Roosevelt about closing New York Saloons on Sundays, which Crane later took issue with in one of his *Port Jervis* articles. The *McClure's* article featured a photograph of Roosevelt sitting at his desk in the Mulberry Street police station (see fig. 10) (*Theodore Roosevelt).* The photograph would have been popular, especially to workers at the *New York Journal.* The sketch artist in Crane's article seemed to recognize the importance of paralleling Crane's masculinity to Roosevelt's masculinity. In order for Crane to have any chance at successfully attacking the police department headed by Roosevelt, in order for him to even compete with the hyper-masculine icon of the Progressive Era, Crane would need to exhibit the same decorum and order of Roosevelt and a sketch mirroring the decorum of Roosevelt would have been a way to draw that parallel (Adventures of a Novelist).

Fig. 9 "Mr. Stephen Crane in His Study"

Fig. 10 Roosevelt at his study

In addition to mirroring Roosevelt's own masculinity through the sketch, Crane also alludes to Roosevelt's ideals of masculinity and citizenship in his article, ideals Roosevelt would later articulate in his 1901 address "Manhood and Statehood" but surely held at the time of their friendship. In his article, Crane connects manhood to citizenship and honest municipal government, clearly establishing that he has a much bigger agenda in mind than simply defending Dora—he wants to see the police department reformed. In reference to Charles Becker, the arresting officer, he states, "I believe that this officer has dishonored his obligation as a public servant." Crane later discusses the duties men like Becker once had but in present society seem to be lost: "do citizens have duty, as a citizen, or do citizens have no duties? Is it a mere myth that there was at one time a man who possessed a consciousness of civic responsibility, or has it become a distinction of our municipal civilization that men of this character shall be licensed to depredate in such a manner upon those who are completely at their mercy?" (Adventures of a Novelist). Crane's analysis of the current state of manhood and citizenship emasculates Becker and the police department. In "Manhood and Statehood," Roosevelt discusses how America's forefathers demonstrated devotion to duty: "they should be an inspiration and appeal, summoning us to show that we too have courage and strength; that we too are ready to dare greatly if the need arises; and, above all, that we are firmly bent upon that steady performance of every day duty which, in the long run, is of such incredible worth in the formation of national character" (Roosevelt 255). Unlike Becker, who fails to complete his duty honorable, Crane honors his civic responsibility and shows "courage and strength," that he too is "ready to dare greatly if the need arises." In his article, Crane states that the chorus girls tells him that, "If you don't go to court and speak for that girl you are no man." Thus Crane solidifies his

masculinity by going to court and showing "a consciousness of civic responsibility," an attitude in complete alignment with Roosevelt's ideology of manhood (Adventures of a Novelist).

Many newspapers recounting the first trial described Crane as the masculine militarist he creates in "Adventures of a Novelist." Just the headers alone of many newspaper articles make Crane the hero Maggie saw in vaudeville—a hero gallantly saving the damsel in distress. "Young Novelist to Her Rescue," "Crane is Brave," and "Showed 'Badge of Courage' in Police Court" are a few examples of such vaudevillian heroics. One author of the Massachusetts *Herald* describes how Crane is so masculine that he is now the recipient of thousands of women's affections. The author first begins by explaining that "Mr. Crane appears in a new role, that of a champion for women." The author continues to explain how the heroic Crane has now "become enshrined among the knights of chivalry in the hearts of many women who have never read his 'Lines,' but who will now buy them . . . and place them, with his picture, in the corner of the boudoir where are gathered the treasures dearest to woman's heart. Indeed, the New York booksellers say that whereas they used to sell 10 of Crane's books to a man and one to a woman, that order is now reversed, and the women are eagerly paying homage to their new found hero." The Massachusetts *Traveler* notes that though Crane seemed to be on a "genuine lark" when the incident occurred, his actions can be classified as a "valiant defence [sic] of a young woman in the police court." In the *Eagle,* the author states that "Mr. Crane himself is rapidly becoming a knight errant" (Adventures of a Novelist).

Other headers portray Crane as the triumphant victor of a battle: "Stephen Crane as Champion," "Dora Clark's Champion Testifies That Her Arrest Was Entirely Unwarranted," and "Risked the Censure of Thousands Who Admire His Books by Manfully Championing a Woman of Whose Antecedents He Knew Nothing." The last header connects Crane's militaristic

behavior to manhood by describing his "championing" as manful. In another article entitled, "Stephen Crane As Brave As His Hero," the author quotes Crane explaining he had a duty to defend Dora, like a soldier to his country. Crane explains, "I well knew I was risking a reputation that I have worked hard to build. But she was a woman and unjustly accused, and I did what was my duty as a man. I realized that if a man should stand tamely by, in such a case, our wives and our sisters would be at the mercy of any ruffian who disgraces the uniform. The policeman flatly lied, and if the girl will have him prosecuted for perjury I will gladly support her. The *New York Press* states, "Mr. Crane, well aware that the affair might bring him a large amount of unsavory advertisement, did not shrink from doing an act of justice to a pariah. The whole world loves justice and takes justice and take high delight in a man. It may be divided in its opinions about this author's literary value, but it has no doubt about the essential worth of his nature" (Adventures of a Novelist).

Though Crane establishes that he possesses the tenets of civic militarism and also adheres to Roosevelt's definition of American manhood in his account of the Dora Clark incident, and though many newspaper articles lauded Crane for his masculinity, Crane ultimately failed to initiate a new model of reform for the police department because his performance of masculinity is exposed as just that—a performance. Crane was not imperialistic, moral, or orderly, and the police department obtained sufficient evidence to taint his character thus discredit his testimony. While Crane was in Philadelphia with his friend Frederic Lawrence in-between the two trials, the police department raided Crane's apartment and also talked to witnesses to stain Crane's character. At the second hearing, Crane refused to answer questions that would incriminate himself and did not answer accusations of smoking opium, running an opium den, or consorting with prostitute Sadie Traphagen, which seemed to incriminate him anyways. He covered his

face, a natural action for an exhausted witness who waited almost eleven hours to testify, but to the court it was a sign of weakness. He eventually admitted that the previous summer he had visited 121 West 27th Street, the home of Sadie's sister, a prostitute who called herself "Amy Leslie." (Wertheim and Sorrentino 206). A janitor testified that Crane lived there six months and that the house was a brothel (207).

As Crane scholar Paul Sorrentino explains, "Crane's career as an investigative reporter had been ruined. The gallant knight who had defended an innocent Dora Clark had been exposed as a seedy habitué of the Tenderloin" (207). Though some newspapers still deemed Crane as heroic, particularly the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* which classified the police department as "one of the most corrupt, brutal, incompetent organizations in the world," many headers turned from praise to accusation: "Questions that Crane Dodged," "Woman's Arrest Justifiable," "Red Badge Man on a Police Rack," "Stephen Crane's Character Assailed at Becker Trial" (Adventures of a Novelist). The trial shattered Crane's image of masculinity. Sorrentino explains that "decades after his death, false rumors that he was an opium addict darkened his reputation" (207).

Crane also failed to maintain his masculinity and thus elicit reform because he lost the support of Roosevelt—the man with the greatest reputation of masculinity and the man with the power to actually change his reform model for the police department. While in Philadelphia, Crane sent a telegram to Roosevelt telling him of his intentions to return to New York and be a witness at Dora's trial. According to Fredric Lawrence, Crane believed Roosevelt would make sure he "had a square deal" (qtd. in Sorrentino, ed. 123). Roosevelt told a common friend, Hamlin Garland, "I tried to save Crane from press comment, but as he insisted on testifying, I could only let the law take its course" (Sorrentino, ed.100). However, Lawrence explains that if Roosevelt had any ability to help save Crane from the slander of the press, "it was never

manifest" (Sorrentino, ed. 123). Though Crane may have expected Roosevelt to remain loyal to their friendship, such an expectation could not have been met. In order to both validate his own masculinity and stand a chance at reforming the police department, Roosevelt had to let the law run its course without intervention. As Roosevelt explains in is autobiography, "no man can lead a public career really worth leading, no man can act with rugged independence in serious crises, nor strike at great abuses, nor afford to make power and unscrupulous foes, if he is himself vulnerable in his private character" (qtd. in Jeffers 22). And Crane proved to be very, very vulnerable.

Additionally, Roosevelt continued to express his disgust with Crane's character even six years after the trial and two years after Crane's death. While reading Crane's *Wounds in the Rain* on a train, Roosevelt asked his travel companion, Jimmy Hare, if he knew Crane. Hare recounted the conversation:

> "Yes, sir, very well indeed."
>
> Again the Roosevelt teeth clicked decisively.
>
> "I remember him distinctly myself. When I was Police Commissioner of New York I once got him out of serious trouble."
>
> "Oh, yes," said Jimmy slowly. "I recall the occasion. It was while he was collecting data for his book, 'Maggie: A Girl of the Streets."
>
> "Nonsense!" retorted Roosevelt vigorously, careless that Jimmy had come to his feet with a face anything but pale as paper. "He wasn't gathering any data! He was a man of bad character and he was imply consorting with loose women."
>
> Bristling at every whisker, a hundred pounds of human dynamite exploded.

> "That is absolutely not so!" flared a man who defended his friends. "Nothing could be farther from the truth!"
>
> Roosevelt stared. . . . Admittedly, it was no way to talked to the President of the United States, even if the incumbent himself happened to be a two-fisted wielder of words. Jimmy knew instantly he had been guilty of a lapse in good taste; he forced down his choler and spoke more calmly.
>
> "I'm sorry," he said, a trifle too shortly to be convincing. "You see, I happen to know the story behind that incident. My friend, Crane, was merely taking the part of an unfortunate woman who was being hounded by the police; that was the whole reason for his getting into a scrape with the law."
>
> Roosevelt was still staring, but a fiery gleam that had lighted his eyes now died away. He nodded understandingly.
>
> "Alright, Jimmy," he said. "Have it your own way." (qtd. in Crane Log 211).

The Dora Clark incident marks a significant change in approach in Crane—he transforms, however briefly, from an observer of reform to a participant. He utilizes Dora as an opportunity to attack Roosevelt's reform of the police department and to do so literally, on a national stage, without the symbolic trappings of a literary attack. He seeks to stimulate reform through the judicial branch, like a reformer, rather simply analyzing flawed reform through a novella. Crane's failure to elicit reform also reveals the politics of reform during the Progressive Era. Male reformers needed to utilize civic militarism not only to legitimize reform as an appropriate male practice but also to solidify their own gender identity by publically performing masculinity. The consequences of failing to perform masculinity proved severe. The negative publicity following the Dora Clark incident became so burdensome that Crane permanently left

New York (Wertheim 298). Because of the national coverage of the trial, Crane took up reporting on international wars and lived very little in the U.S. for the remainder of his life. He became an ex-patriot and lived in England prior to his death.

In sum, Crane's interactions with Jacob Riis and Theodore Roosevelt provide unique insight into the social dynamics among male reformers during the Progressive Era. His responses to their reforms reveal the existence of an unspoken code all male reformers had to abide by, a code that shows what Progressive-Era society valued: morality, order, and patriotism. Crane's interactions with Riis and Roosevelt act as case studies that demonstrate how reformers tried to adhere to the code of civic militarism and also criticism of the code. For future research, I would analyze Crane's other works to see if they also critique civic militarism, as well as conduct more archival research to find evidence of his disdain for civic militarism.

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